

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

The Rising Tide of Destruction

THE rising tide of hate, of which I wrote last, goes hand in hand with a rising tide of destruction. After Cologne it seemed as though the gloating would never end, and Germany, meantime, gloated over the havoc wrought in another lovely city, Canterbury. The USA, the press assured us, was "jubilant" over the 1,000-bomber attack on Cologne. The New York Times gleefully announced, "20,000 killed in Cologne raid."

That this is probably a gross exaggeration of the actual number of deaths does not alter the horrible significance of the boast. Men no longer shudder at the thought of mass murder. The day the news of the Cologne raid came through I saw in London a chalked-up poster which declared, "Hundreds of thousands homeless in Rhineland."

Hundreds of thousands killed; hundreds of thousands homeless; centre of old town completely wiped out; hurrah for bigger and better bombs! Two-thousand bomber raids envisaged in the near future. Hurrah for the wrath to come!

Shall anyone say now that we're not a Christian, civilized country fighting for Christianity and freedom? Let us love our enemies by killing them off in hundreds of thousands and razing their cities to the ground. Let us not hate, saith the archbishop. Instead we will coldly and calculatedly destroy, like Chicago gun-men, like a race of gangsters...

No Limit

If it is proposed—as it is—to darken the sky over Germany with 2,000 planes, why not 5,000? Why not a million? Why not go on and on to wilder and wilder heights of destructiveness as our productiveness for purposes of destruction increases? Since we have taken to invading the stratosphere we cannot even say "the sky's the limit" any more. Now there is no ceiling to man's potentiality for evil.

If, as Mr. Churchill says, we are to take Germany "city by city" in our programme of destruction, and the Germans retaliate, as they of course will—a Canterbury for a Cologne, a Bath for a Lubeck, an Exeter for a Rostock—and if we are to go on bombing France, Norway, Holland, Belgium (the lovely ancient Flemish city of Bruges is the latest victim as I write) soon Europe will be nothing but a smoking ruin, and the culture of centuries gone up in flames.

Then the grass will grow again over the ruins of the past, as over the lost civilizations of Greece and Rome (ah, the wind-flowers that blow upon the Palatine hill, amidst ruined palaces of the Caesars, and the temples of forgotten gods!) and if, as seems likely, humanity achieves the apex of its conception of "progress" and succeeds in wiping itself out entirely, D. H. Lawrence's vision of a world in which a cleaner breed of life, birds and rabbits and foxes, creeps upon the earth will be realized.

Life's Triumph

There should be for pacifists great comfort in the thought of how quickly the grass grows again. Man may destroy, but God eternally creates. The growing of the grass, and the springing of the flowers and weeds, is the triumphant reassertion of life over death, of creation over destruction. In war Man commits not merely murder, but self-murder. He destroys himself, both in the flesh and in the spirit.

Nearly eight square miles of destruction we boast of in Cologne, with still more intensified burning and

smashing and massacre to come. Meanwhile preparations are being made for the blood-bath of an invasion of Europe, and men who survived Dunkirk and Narvik will face the inferno of flame and fury yet again... and with them many young men who have not yet seen war face to face, coming to grips with death and destruction before they have fully tasted life and creativeness.

Writing in the New Leader for June 6, F. A. Ridley says, "The Great War of declining Capitalist-Imperialism is now at long last really getting under way." He aptly compares this war with the Thirty Years War of "declining European Feudalism, 1618-48," and says,

In this "Thirty Years' War", as in its predecessor's case, we see an outmoded civilization committing collective suicide because it has no purpose left in life. And this civilization can never have a purpose again.

That They May Have Life

F. A. Ridley, as a dialectical materialist, is concerned with this civilization purely in terms of capitalist-imperialism, and no-one who has ever given serious thought to the matter will dispute that in this war we are witnessing the death-agony of an outmoded system; but for pacifists the issues are still further-reaching. The pacifist is not concerned with the social systems under which men live but that they shall live.

The pacifist can never accept the

by Ethel Mannin

attitude so strongly—and heroically—asserted by the anti-fascists in the Spanish civil war, that it is "better to die on your feet than live on your knees." The pacifist necessarily believes in life at all costs and on any terms.

But, and this is important, the pacifist is prepared if necessary to sacrifice his own freedom, if need be his own life, for that belief; not in any spirit of martyrdom but because he must believe, as men believe in God, that he himself is nothing, and Man in the aggregate all. Pacifist philosophy does not postulate, as so many pacifists appear to imagine, merely that it is better to live than to die, but that it is better to die than to lift so much as a finger to contribute, even indirectly, to the death—spiritual as much as physical—of one's fellow-man.

What Can We Do?

Recently, John Gordon ran a full-page article in the Sunday Express headed, "What's Wrong with Hate?" In the same issue (May 25) Commander Campbell, of the Brains Trust, was quoted as having said in Birmingham, "There is one text we should delete for the time being. It is 'Love your enemies.'" Did no cock crow when the gallant commander took pen and put those words on paper?

Young pacifists write me continu-

New Redemption Fund

PREPARATIONS for the great drive to clear off the debt on Dick Sheppard House by the anniversary of his death are now in full swing. Once it begins the new Treasurers themselves (James Hudson and Alfred Salter) will make the fortnightly appeal in this place, which I willingly yield to them for the purpose.

I understand that members will be invited to pledge themselves to contribute £1 each, to be collected by the end of October; and that cards with pictures both of Dick and his house will be issued for the purpose. Every active group is expected to be responsible for ten such cards.

Contributions to Peace News Headquarters Fund since June 12: £10 9s. 10d. Total to date, £592 6s. 2d.

The Editor

Please note that cheques, etc. for the PPU fund should be made payable to the Peace Pledge Union but sent to Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. Donations to our own Fighting Fund, however, should be made payable to Peace News.

ally expressing horror and dismay at the rising tide of destruction and hate and asking despairingly, "But what can we do?" The answer, as I see it, is that we can keep our heads and our faith in the midst of the inferno, and make propaganda against war wherever we happen to find ourselves. We can do no more at this present time, but certainly we can do no less.

Stand ye calm and resolute
Like a forest close and mute,
With folded arms and looks which are
Weapons of unvanquished war...
With folded arms and steady eyes,
And little fear, and less surprise,
Look upon them as they slay,
Till their rage has died away.

Edited by "OBSERVER"

A Pacifist Commentary

FOOLING the PEOPLE!

MY neighbour in the railway carriage remarked that the clamour for a second front was rather stupid. "They don't seem to be able to look after the first one—or the first two or three." Certainly the appearance on the same day of Comrade Beaverbrook's new appeal for a second front and the news of the sudden fall of Tobruk looked odd. Probably this oddness is the major theme of the conversations with President Roosevelt which Mr. Churchill has been conducting in America. The outmanoeuvring of our forces in Libya grievously postpones the hope of improving the shipping situation; and indeed directly aggravates it. We are now being prepared for the fate of Sevastopol. Our failure to bring help to China makes imminent the control by the Japanese of a railway from Manchuria to Singapore, says Dr. Sun Fo, President of the Chinese Legislative Council (N. Chronicle, June 22). In short, the tide is not beginning to turn, but is still flowing steadily against us. And with something of a shock USA has realized that its biggest ever production will not save the situation unless there is shipping to carry it to the right places. And even that, as Libya shows is not enough. Our Generals need a skill in warfare which they do not possess.

Communiques Swamped

IT is remarkable that at this stage in the history of the war the authorities should have dared so to mislead the people as they did concerning the course of the battle in Libya. The ominous word is spoken openly. "If

the communiques mislead they evoke anger. That is what they have been doing." (Major Oliver Stewart, E. Standard, June 18). The Economist (June 20) writes:

The reporting of the latest struggle, presumably with official and semi-official sanction, has in some ways surpassed the others in misleading public opinion, and letting people in for shocks and disappointments for which they were quite unprepared. Not even the speeches of prominent statesmen have been blameless. Three weeks ago Rommel was encircled and defeated. After that the back of his tank force was broken. Then the German forward bulge was perfectly manageable. Then things plainly began to worsen; but the same note of ill-timed confidence continued to pervade the atmosphere created by press and spokesmen with which the communiques were swamped.

That was written before the actual disaster of Tobruk.

Even "The Telegraph"!

THE distinction which the Economist draws between the relative sobriety of the communiques and the extravagance of the commentators is not accepted by the E. Standard (June 18), which definitely puts the blame on the Service Departments. More significantly, the Daily Telegraph (June 19) writes:

Bad news continues to arrive from Africa, and it seems worse than it is because of the high hopes entertained by the Middle Eastern Command less than three weeks ago.

That is significant because the Telegraph, nowadays, is never critical. The Mail (June 20) has no such inhibitions; and it is on the whole the most honest and reliable of the penny newspapers at the present time.

The public have once again been badly misled over the Libyan campaign. This

time the Cairo spokesman did not win the battle in advance, but inspired messages throughout suggested a very different state of affairs from what must have been the reality.

Nobody Worries

OMINOUSLY, the public by now seems to take it for granted that it will be misled. There is no suggestion that a vote of no confidence is the proper treatment of a government which so palpably misleads the people. On the contrary, one has the feeling that the public definitely prefers to be fooled. On no other assumption, indeed, can I explain the evasion of fuel-rationing by a scheme which absolutely no one pretends to believe will increase the production of coal; or the encouragement of belief in the possibility, indeed of the imminence, of the opening of a second front, at a time when, quite apart from the deterioration of our position in the Mediterranean after our defeat in Libya, the toll now being taken of Allied shipping is confessedly enormous.

An official review of the situation from Ottawa states that the Battle of the Atlantic has become less favourable to the United Nations: "The focus of German U-boat attacks has been shifted to the Western Atlantic causing extremely heavy losses... particularly of such vital vessels as oil-tankers."

"If the grievous position is not made known," said Lord Winterton in the House on June 18, "the public will have one of the nastiest shocks in their lives." It is now a common-

(Continued on page 2)

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Post War Russia

UNTIL the end of the war and for twenty years after it Britain and Russia will be allies. Barring accidents, of course. To covenant not to conclude a separate armistice may not save a nation from being compelled to conclude one. But one cannot legislate for defeat. In the case of victory or stalemate, Russia and Britain will be allies for twenty years after.

Let us investigate the position more carefully. First, in the event of victory. Even if the Russians were to march to Berlin, America and Britain would still have the whip-hand. Above all, America. For not even a successful campaign against Germany will now enable Russia to maintain herself by her own production, since she has been deprived of the Ukraine and the Donbas so long. If Russia begins to play "tricks", she will find herself under an embargo imposed by the USA.

So there is probably no need to be alarmed by the rumours and denials of all kinds of secret clauses. On the whole, bearing our past methods of treaty-making in mind, particularly with Russia, we may reasonably suspect that, notwithstanding all the noble principles propounded, we have gone on the time honoured principle of offering our ally all she asks for the future, in the legitimate belief that the future is so unpredictable that it does not matter very much what we promise now.

In the second event: a stalemate peace, the problem is simplified. In that event Germany and Russia will come to their own terms; and, were it not for the neurotic element in Nazi fanaticism, it seems that they could get on quite well together. German technical efficiency would be very helpful to Russia. If Russia and Germany were to agree, it would not matter so much what America and Britain thought about it.

But why indulge the strange belief that the USSR is an ideal society, or that the future welfare of the human race depends upon a deeper understanding between Russia and Britain? It depends just as much on a deeper understanding between Britain and Germany, and between Germany and Russia, or between both and USA. Russia is not an ideal society. It is a huge Euro-Asiatic empire on which a new unity has been imposed on the basis of a machine technique. It has practically no affinity at all with any western political society. Politically, it is a vast autocracy which makes use of most of the methods of the old Tsardom. Economically, it is a machine-society which has deliberately eschewed the contradictions of capitalism, and thus aimed at increasing mass-consumption, not private profit.

Russia is therefore more formidable than ever before to Germany. No matter what the immediate outcome of this war, Germany will always be scared of Russia—unless they become friends. Becoming friends for Russia and Germany means becoming mixed up economically. There is no reason why they should not be. The mix-up might itself solve the problem of German aggressiveness.

Food Relief As A Policy

We regret that the leading article of last week, "Food Relief as a Policy" has been widely interpreted as a criticism of the actual campaign of the PPU for controlled food-relief. The article had no such intention. To dispel misunderstanding, we have invited a responsible member of the Food Relief Committee to write on behalf of the Committee in next week's Peace News.—Ed.

RIVAL SPHERES

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY
(Continued from page one)

place that ships are being sunk much faster than new shipping is being built. Yet nobody seems to worry. That would be understandable if Britain had been converted to pacifism; but the present mood of indifference, in a nation which affects to believe in waging war, suggests a serious moral degeneration.

Nice Distinctions

THIS moral degeneration seems to be all-pervasive. Trade Unions which clamour simultaneously for wage-increases and a second front; big business interests which inveigh against pacifists as defeatists, but resist the control of their own interests which is obviously necessary for the successful prosecution of the war; these are aspects of a moral incoherence which is general. But the incoherence of the intellectuals is equally striking: it amounts to what M. Julien Benda called, in a phrase which became famous as describing the temper of the between-war period, "the treason of the clerks." Here is an instance from the New Statesman (June 20). Discussing the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, it says:

If Germany wins this war the small states of Europe will be submerged. That we know. If the USSR, Britain and the USA are victorious in Europe then the desires of the peoples in the small countries will be taken into account in the settlement. We hope this means there will be the real substance of cultural autonomy and national self-government. That this should mean that small states will again be able to claim a sovereignty which has only brought disaster on themselves is out of the question. Eventually the states that lie along Russia's European frontiers will strategically and politically come within the Soviet security sphere—that is inevitable, and it would be silly to lay down any principle that pretended the facts were not what they are.

This is surely humbug of a most pernicious kind. What on earth is the difference between "being submerged" by Germany, or "strategically and politically coming within the Soviet security sphere"? When the Japanese talk that kind of language—the "co-prosperity sphere"—the New Statesman is scathing.

The Devil They Know

IF there is any moral honesty at all in such a statement, it must be based on the genuine conviction that it is better for themselves that the small states of the Baltic should be forcibly incorporated in the USSR than in a German-controlled Europe. What evidence is

there that this is true? Not one of the small states has ever evinced any desire to be incorporated in "the Soviet security sphere." The evidence is that the really small ones, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, definitely prefer the Germanic new order: understandably enough, because their culture was mainly of Germanic inspiration. Poland and Czechoslovakia are more doubtful. Poland's tradition is one of equal resistance to Germany and Russia. Czechoslovakia is not an actual neighbour of Russia: therefore she is more afraid of Germany than Russia, more friendly to Russia than Germany.

Moreover, the characteristic evolution of the small Scandinavian States, with which the Baltic States have manifest affinity, is towards an advanced Social Democracy. This is anathema to Russian Communism; and almost (though not quite) equally anathema to Nazism. But it is excessive to pretend that incorporation in the "Soviet security sphere" is likely to be more beneficial to the small States than incorporation in the Germanic "new order." A plague on both your houses! is the sentiment of the small States.

Diplomatic Withdrawal

MR. GANDHI has dispelled the ambiguity (largely, it must be confessed, of his own creation) which surrounded his demand for British "withdrawal" from India. In Harijan, June 21, he explains that the demand is that British authority in India should end completely.

But I would recognize their own military necessity. They may need to remain in India to prevent a Japanese occupation. That prevention is common cause between them and us. It may be necessary also for the sake of China.

Therefore, I would tolerate the presence of the British in India not in the sense of rulers; and on their withdrawal a stable government would be established in India. The terms on which the Allied Powers might operate would be purely for the Government of the Free State to determine.

That seems clearer (I think) than it actually is. On the face of it, it means that Britain should explicitly renounce all lawful political authority over India—i.e. the King-Emperor should abdicate—and simply "occupy" the country as it occupies Irak and Iran. Such occupation necessitates a more rigid de facto control than the actual British rule in India. However, Indian honour would be satis-

fied. Meanwhile it is rather amusing to reflect that "withdrawal" has changed its meaning; it now means eventual or post-war withdrawal. Apparently, Mr. Gandhi now offers to accept our post-dated cheque, provided it is drawn on a slightly different account and signed Georgius, Indiae Imperator.

A Liberal Passes

MR. J. A. Spender, the famous Liberal journalist, editor and largely the creator of the once-famous green Westminster Gazette, died on June 21, at the age of 79. I honoured him greatly. He was my first "chief" in journalism: perfectly courteous and absolutely honourable. And I have never been able to decide whether he, or my next political "chief", H. W. Massingham, was the finer representative of British political journalism at its best. I just do not know. What I am certain of is that there would be no room for either of them in journalism today. They really were "liberal"; and I fear there is no room for "liberals" in modern society. They can exist—precariously—only outside it.

It is rather curious that my first—very deferential—difference of opinion with Spender was due to my reluctance to become a political journalist. I wasn't, I explained, really interested in politics. Very queer!

18b?

TO return to the situation after Tobruk, The Times (June 12) has notably changed its tune. It now declares that the replacement of shipping losses is only subordinate. Everything—survival as well as victory—depends upon "bolder and more crippling action against the U-boats themselves." Says the Evening News (June 22):

There are few people, very few, who deduce themselves today that we are winning the war, or that we have any apparent prospect of winning it on our present form.

The Post-War Paradise — I.

By JOHN SCANLON

VICTORY or defeat, in one sense, will make little difference to Britain. When the Captains and the Kings depart there will arise the one dominating issue: "How is Britain to provide herself with food, clothing, and shelter?"

Yet, as I write this, the air is vibrating with political speeches all of which seek to assure us that this issue is already settled.

These speeches range from the type delivered by Sir Stafford Cripps, which are all rhetoric and no details, to the type delivered by Mr. Lyttleton, full of details which are misleading.

Now if we are to face this issue seriously we need to understand what is the basis of our national economic life. In other words, we need to understand how Britain is to secure all the food, all the clothing, and all the raw materials she will require.

No matter what party or parties are in power, the basic method of securing the things we need to live must of necessity remain the same.

Put briefly, the chief essentials of life are all outside Britain, and would still be outside Britain even if Mr. Harry Pollitt had the same dictatorial powers in Britain as are now possessed by M. Stalin in Russia.

No matter how fine the speeches, how noble the intentions, a large proportion of the necessary food, clothing and timber must be acquired from abroad.

The issue to be faced is, Can we still acquire them from abroad by the same methods as we formerly acquired them?

VANISHED SURPLUS

What was the basis of trade by which Britain was fed, clothed, and housed?

For the answer I will ignore all the critics of what is called the

capitalist system. Instead I will take the statement of one who can be said to be one of its chief defenders, and certainly was considered one of the best in explaining its workings.

I choose Professor Henry Clay, economic adviser to the Bank of England. In a broadcast address in the crisis of 1931 Professor Clay, in explaining our economic system, said:

Although our import of merchandise exceeded our exports, when the services of our shipping and banking were brought into the account, other countries had always on balance owed us more than we owed them. This surplus we had re-invested abroad, and the existence of this surplus was the real basis of the reliability of sterling. This surplus, however, has gone.

Professor Clay, it will be noticed, did not attempt to explain why this trade collapse had occurred. Nor for the moment need we. It is sufficient to accept that it did happen, not only here, but in every country in the world.

HOW REGAIN PROSPERITY?

All we need concern ourselves with at this stage is: How are we to reach that stage of prosperity which the country enjoyed before the slump?

The remedy then proposed was so to reduce imports, and so increase exports that the money drawn as dividends from abroad would be used in settling accounts, not only to make up the excess of imports over exports, but also show a profit.

But we will not theorize about the matter. It is much easier to understand when we see the system at work.

In 1921, it may be remembered, a similar situation had arisen. There had been such an excess of imports over exports that the balance was against us and we had to economize as in 1932.

That this happened at regular ten-year intervals and from the same cause made no difference to our statesmen. The method used for restoring the balance, although differing in detail, were fundamentally the same. Thus, when the crisis came in 1921 Mr. Lloyd George delivered the same speech as Professor Clay delivered in 1931.

The one difference was that Mr. Lloyd George gave the figures. Before the war, he said, our imports exceeded our exports by

£150 millions. But from shipping, insurance commissions, we earned £150 millions. Our interest from abroad was £200 millions and thus, when we deducted the £150 million excess of imports, there was a profit of £200 millions which we re-invested abroad.

NOTHING FROM INVESTMENTS

The immediate point in our discussion is that that £200 millions entitled us to food and raw materials to that value without having to export goods to meet the cost. The question, therefore, is, Can we still get that amount of raw materials from our investments abroad? Obviously, win or lose, we can get nothing from our investments in Europe. British people may hold the scrip in Polish mines, Rumanian oil wells, or bauxite deposits in Yugoslavia, but alas, someone else owns the mines, the wells, and the deposits.

The scorched earth policy will doubtless be applied if defeat seems likely to those who hold them.

As we know, a very large part of our holdings in America have been sold to pay for food and munitions from that country. So much so, indeed, that when Lease-Lending was introduced Mr. Churchill in thankfulness said that "he did not know where to turn for a dollar."

Canada, in 1919 the most heavily indebted nation in the world per head of its population, is now lending Britain money.

If we have lost our claim to a portion of our food, to rubber, oil, timber etc., how are we to get these things?

Only by increasing our exports. Well, did not Mr. Lloyd George try that in 1921 and fail? Did not Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Baldwin try that in 1931?

Let us see the result of seventeen years of effort. In 1921 the aim was to keep the excess of imports over exports down to £150 millions. In the year 1938 the excess had risen to £390 millions.

Has any statesman yet produced a method different from that tried by the statesmen of past generations? I will examine this next week.

(To be concluded)

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised). Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They should be kept as short as possible—preferably not more than 600 words. If replies are required stamped addressed envelopes must be enclosed.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.
The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

PPU HEADQUARTERS,
Dick Sheppard House,
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Whither The P.P.U.?

By JOHN BARCLAY

IT is a healthy sign when criticism within a movement finds coherent expression in its council chamber. The harder task remains—that of making the criticism constructive and creative. The PPU is the spearhead of a broader pacifist movement, and only those who have shared the struggles and experienced the exhilarations and disappointments of a pioneer movement can understand how difficult it is to keep the vision clear and the spirit from flagging. A sudden shock will often act as a tonic, and those who have become apathetic or disinterested will feel the need for quick action and decision.

Such a moment has come now, and we are facing a situation brought about by healthy criticism and candid utterance. Whither the PPU?

Historically we find ourselves in the forefront of civilised progress, because we stand for ideals without which the world would be a poorer place. In face of a worsening military situation we believe it to be our duty to witness tenaciously to these ideals for which we are all striving. The desire to hold our members together at such a moment drives us to forms of organization which have their origin in the crumbling world around us. There is no security unless the individual member is willing to adhere to the faith that is common to us all, and by his service and sacrifice inspire the courage without which we fail.

The PPU is strong. It has its roots in the realities which will not change even though economic blizzards and military defeats come our way. Our strength lies in the knowledge that each member is the PPU, so that mere numbers are at times irrelevant. The future of the PPU depends on its loyalty to the faith that is Pacifism.

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JOHN BARCLAY'S RESIGNATION

Agreed Statement

IT will be in the recollection of Groups that, acting on what was represented as a demand from the Movement and a pressing need, National Council decided to set up a Development Committee (consisting of the Officers and two members appointed by the elected members of Council and 5 members elected by and from the Area Representatives on Council), to allocate a percentage of national income for the development of the Areas, and to appoint a National Development Officer. "Development" was defined in terms of four objectives. After some hesitation on both sides, John Barclay was offered and accepted the post of National Development Officer, the appointment to be reviewed at the end of six months.

At the request of the last meeting of the old Council, the Development Committee reviewed the situation, and after considering reports which Area Committees had been invited to submit, and discussing the situation generally, reached the almost unanimous conclusion that:—

"In the opinion of the Development Committee John Barclay's particular gifts have not made him suitable as a National Development Officer. They therefore recommend the National Council to reconsider:

- (a) How the purpose of development can be best achieved; and
- (b) How John Barclay's abilities can be used to better advantage in the Peace Pledge Union.

At the National Council Meeting last week-end, the Chairman announced that after hearing the terms of the Development Committee resolution, John Barclay had placed his resignation in his hands in order to leave the National Council free to come to such decision as they thought best.

After a very full discussion, the Council decided to adopt the Report of the Committee and to accept John Barclay's resignation as National Development Officer as from September 29, 1942. They further decided to refer to the Development Committee the question as to whether another National Development Officer should be appointed, and empowered the Committee to make such an appointment if they thought it desirable.

In regard to (b) above, a motion to retain John Barclay's services was moved by Middleton Murry in a speech that outlined the possibilities of a specific job; a vote being taken, this motion was lost by a margin of one.

Though the Council were unable to agree on any way in which the services of John Barclay as a full-time paid officer of the Movement could be retained, they desired to record in their Minutes a statement to the effect that, although they had felt bound to accept his resignation as National Development Officer, this did not preclude their offering him any post in the Movement which seemed suitable at a future date.

PACIFIST LIVING AND THE LAND

Letters to the Editor

The Editor to Correspondents:—

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

YOUR correspondent, Mr. Martin Boyd, states that the chief duty of the pacifist is to live creatively and not destructively, but suggests that the choice of agriculture as a means to creative living is arbitrary. I should have thought that in peace or war it was one of the very few remaining means, and the foundation on which a creative way of life for the future would have to be established. How much industrial work, and the doctoring, teaching, banking, etc., that make it possible, is in any sense creative? In the works of Eric Gill can be found a forceful statement of the case for believing that most of this kind of work is lacking in responsibility and so uncreative and harmful.

Mr. Boyd remarks that we have not eaten the corn and fruit and wine that will be grown in 1950. In "Look to the Land," by Lord Northbourne, he will find reasons set out and authorities quoted for believing that by neglect of proper methods of cultivation we are fairly rapidly destroying the means of growing those desirable things. Instead of looking forward to abundant riches, surely it is better to work for the satisfaction of reasonable wants, comparatively simple ones, by reasonable methods, of which mass factory production will seldom be one. Industry will have to be subsidiary to agriculture. Those people with gifts of intellect and imagination whom Mr. Boyd mentions would probably find an agricultural environment less frustrating for art and science, especially biology, than a predominantly industrial one.

RONALD SUMMERS

31 Stroud Rd., Patchway, Glos.

I write in support of Mr. Martin Boyd's letter. It has always been disturbing to me to find certain pacifists advocating a "Back to the land" policy for all their comrades, irrespective of physical ability or temperament, and without taking any account of those whose environment, training and ability have been directed to other, and equally useful work. It is noticeable that pacifist organized services rarely make provision for any but the strongest. This, too, seems to be a reflection of the opinion that no pacifist can do better than take up some form of manual labour.

Until I was called up, I was learning journalism. Since then, I have undertaken certain pacifist service: as a result of ill-health caused by it, I am now back at my old job. I make no claim to be one of those with exceptional imagination or ability instanced by Mr. Boyd, but although I belong to one of the most dishonoured and misused professions (or industries), I believe that journalism can, and will be one of the great instruments for the propagation of world-wide pacifism, as well as news.

Rural communities should give opportunities for "contemplation", but only the minority of pacifists will know how to use them. Few will have the inherent ability; and unless there is exceptional leadership (by no means a condition of starting a community) there seems to be an excellent chance of us rank and file ending our lives with straws in our mouths and seeds in our hair.

Genuine communities will have their function as live points radiating what they believe to be truth and beauty, and as sources of spiritual rejuvenation for the ordinary pacifists—much, I imagine, as the old teaching monasteries. Meanwhile, I believe that the job of most of us is to find, within our own sphere of work, opportunities for persuading those around us to use the techniques of civilization for the communal interest of the world, rather than for personal gain. We need not feel ineffectual, for there are progressive elements in the country which are not pacifist, and therefore have greater chances of being heard. There is plenty to be done in finding common ground with them and exploring the possibilities of co-operation. We need not all go to the fields to seek opportunities for spade work.

BRIAN CUMMINGS

4 Priory Close, Pilton, Barnstaple.

MAY I, somewhat belatedly, support Mr. J. K. Mason's article on this subject by these notes on the

agricultural potentialities of Scotland, as one instance with which I am acquainted?

Recently the national newspapers have corroborated what aware Scotsmen have been shouting for years; that the North-West of Scotland is not a poor, barren region, but is capable, if properly treated, of growing vegetables and fruit of as high a quality and with as early production as Cornwall and the Channel Islands. Early potatoes have been grown in West Argyll. Dr. F. Fraser Darling's experiments in West Highland agriculture have resulted in his writing, "I cannot over-emphasize the favoured nature of the West for vegetable production if shelter is given and the ground well done."

Sir John Orr, the authority on dietetics, has written: "Scotland is one of the finest agricultural countries in Europe. It is not a poor country, it is a rich country. Our Scottish farms could produce all the milk, eggs, meat, fruit and vegetables we need. The Clyde valley has terrific powers of production which are lying half idle."

Many pacifists in Scotland are endeavouring to make these facts known and to prepare the country for agricultural reform. The Government's neglect and therefore ruin of Scottish agriculture is one of its greatest crimes. And the tragedy is not Scotland's only: it is Britain's. And who knows but what it might be part of Europe's tragedy also?

JOHN HIGHT

207 Kenmure St., Glasgow S.1.

Never Heard Of It!

I HAVE interested myself during the past six months by carrying out a sort of little private investigation on "Gallup" lines, in the course of casual conversations with people encountered at bus stops, in tea-shops, etc.: the ordinary "man (and woman) in the street," as well as some of my own acquaintances.

Of these (15 in number and representative of the British people as a whole), I have found that half had no knowledge whatever of any detail of the Versailles Treaty, the rest having a sketchy and very incomplete idea—all drawing varied conclusions ranging between complete vagueness, condemnation of the terms as far too lenient, with about three exceptions, who thought the conditions imposed must have been hard, without at all knowing what they were! Not one person had any knowledge, or at least, recollection, of the terms of Hitler's offer of settlement with Poland over Danzig, or of his suggestions of peace since the outbreak of war.

To this may be added general but important misconceptions as to the responsibility for starting the bombing of towns, and ignorance of the fact that it was we, who at the disarmament conferences in 1933, found ourselves unable to agree to the abolition of bombing planes, agreed to in principle by other nations.

Without entering in any way into the rights and wrongs of these historical facts, it does certainly seem that the people of Britain are supporting this war and resigning themselves to their prolonged ordeal of "blood, tears and sweat" without any of the clear knowledge and understanding that might be expected on the part of an enlightened democracy and that in fact the whole thing is rather on the intellectual plane of a mediaeval witch-hunt!

LENA ROBERTS

9 Mount Beacon, Bath.

RETROSPECT FOR 1950

LOOKING back, the Declaration of Peace in 1945 is seen to have been inevitable as the Declaration of War in 1939. And yet, like the latter, it might almost be said to have been unexpected.

For more than two years the outlook of the peoples of Europe had been prepared for the things of peace, but the utterances of statesmen had continued warlike to the very eve of settlement.

As, in 1938, Neville Chamberlain had announced "Peace in our Time" as an immediate preliminary to the hurried expansion of the armed forces and the introduction of conscription, so, in 1942, the slogan "Victory at any Cost" heralded unexpected sacrifices on the part of the allies, firstly on a small scale to relieve famine in Greece and Belgium, and later in an all-out campaign

against disease all over Europe.

For scarcely had the sending of food-ships to famine areas become an accepted custom when the plague of typhus, which had already decimated the German armies on the Russian front, swept South and West with a fearful impact on these famine-weakened populations.

Up to this time there was no known cure for this dread disease, but now the researches instigated by the American Field Hospitals had at last succeeded in producing an effective anti-typhus serum.

It was imperative that all available stocks of this serum, together with workers trained in its preparation and administration, should be rushed at once to the affected areas.

Negotiations carried out through the International Red Cross resulted in the admission of American and English doctors, first to the occupied countries, and later almost automatically to Germany itself; so that the paradox of special highly-trained units working day and night in enemy territory, with full recognition and assistance from the enemy government, became an established fact.

That such a state of affairs could continue for a full year, with no official break in hostilities, in spite of the fact that bombing raids had long since ceased, that blockades were no longer attempted, and that

(Continued on page 4)

F.A.U. TYPHUS VICTIMS

TWO pacifists serving with the China Convoy of the Friends Ambulance Unit are reported to have died in China from typhus and dysentery. They are Douglas Hardy, 22, whose home was in Darlington, and John Briggs, who came from Leeds.

Both lads were Methodists who had volunteered for the China Convoy last year. Douglas Hardy's engineering knowledge had been invaluable in transporting the Unit trucks over the Burma Road, while John Briggs was an expert in building construction—he was supervising the erection of a new Unit hostel at Kutsing, where he died.

Two COs are known to have received from the Ministry of Labour a notice under the Defence Regulations stating that the question whether they should be directed under Regulation 29BA to part-time service in the Police or Civil Defence for the standard duty of 48 hours in every four weeks, was being considered. They are Ken Sheppard of PPU headquarters staff and J. Duncan Christie

of Pacifist Service Units. The former is unconditionally and the latter conditionally registered.

The form is largely similar to that sent to persons who are being considered for compulsory service in the Home Guard, except that the reference to conscientious objection does not appear as a circumstance which would make it impossible to do the service required. It is quite legal for a CO to be directed in this way, though whether it will be the policy of the Ministry remains to be seen.

Two members of York PPU—William G. Henderson (31) and George Edward Todd (20)—were sentenced to six months imprisonment at York on June 2 for refusing medical examination. For refusing to pay a fine of £25, Henderson (who had refused to register) was sentenced to a further three months.

A Bill introduced in the House of Commons by the Government, on June 17, authorizes the conscription for military service of nationals of Allied countries. The provisions of the National Service Act will apply, it is understood, with the addition that the foreign Governments can issue certificates of exemption.

WELSH CHURCHMEN FOR PEACE

The four hundred delegates of the Welsh Congregational Union have passed a resolution in favour of an immediate armistice—with only four dissentients.

The Union is the largest religious body in the Principality, and before the annual Convention at which this peace resolution was carried a public meeting at Penmaenmawr was addressed by Dr. Iowerth Peate and Mr. Rhys Davies, MP.

RETROSPECT FOR 1950

(Continued from page 3)

80 per cent. of the opposing armies had been drafted into food production and distribution seems now incredible.

Yet it was not until the alarming outbreak of bubonic plague in London and Liverpool brought a delegation of German doctors to deal with it (as they did with amazing speed and efficiency) that the leading statesmen of either country appear to have considered the official declaration of peace as a possibility.

When it came at last, the peace itself was already so nearly an established fact that it made very little difference to the lives of the people, except, indeed, with regard to the blackout laws, which were still enforced in the cities, although they had for long been partially disregarded in country districts.

Post-war reconstruction was already under way, and only required to be speeded up; and only the restoration of holiday travel abroad and the boom in civil aviation, definitely marked off the beginning of peace from the period of so-called "war" which preceded it.

The Northampton Breakfast—P.P.U.

Rev. Reginald Sorensen, M.P.
Sunday, July 5, 8.30 sharp, also at 3.30
—on India
FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE

The Drain's Bust

In a recent article in the New Statesman, Dr. Joad refers to this war as a "gigantic sanitary operation." I wonder whether he thinks we have disinfected Cologne sufficiently or does he feel that another little dose wouldn't do it any harm? Strangely enough Dr. Joad also claims that we are civilized men. Modesty never has been one of his strong points.

IAN KIEK

43 Purley Bury Av.,
Purley, Surrey.

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LAND & COMMUNITY

BUSINESS MAN, well experienced, wishes to contact anyone interested (when conditions permit) in establishing Food Farm and Naturalist Camp. Knowledge gardening and some capital desirable. Either sex, married, single or associated couple, but vegetarians, pacifists, and thorough reformers essential. Box 325 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

COMMUNITY IN SCOTLAND. People interested in the development of community in Scotland should write to the Committee representative. Box 330 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.
LOANS (and Mortgage of £2,000) invited—preferably free of interest or low rate—to finance Christian pacifist community. Consider employment and/or home in exchange. Details to Box 312 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.
THE INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE FOR PEACE requires volunteers for the new Carton Farm Agricultural Scheme in Worcestershire. An 800 acre farm is being cultivated under the skilled supervision of the Worcestershire War Agricultural Committee. Experience in tractor driving and live-stock an advantage. For further details write to Secretary, I.V.S.P., 1 Lyddon Terrace, Leeds 2.

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends. free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.
S.C.M. Religious Book Club 18 vols offered for price of postage. Parker, Boslowen, Par, Cornwall.

MEETINGS &c.

EDMONTON 5th Annual General Meeting. Speaker, Stuart Morris. Edmonton Independent Church, Upper Room, Knights Lane, N.9. Wednesday, July 1, 7.45 p.m.
HOLY CROSS, Cromer St., St. Pancras, Sun., June 28, 11 Rev. P. L. D. Chamier; 6.30 Rev. R. H. Le Messurier.

SITUATIONS VACANT

CHARTERED ACCOUNTANT (pacifist) has further vacancy for audit clerk. Salary £3/4. Details of experience to Vincent Burston, 6 King Sq., Bridgwater.

C.O. wanted for clerical work, food distribution, Bristol district. Box 320 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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MEN FOR WORK with mechanical potato harvester July-Nov. Experience immaterial. Wages six pounds weekly. Box 297 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

GREEK FAMINE

ONLY 19,600 tons of foodstuffs in all has been allowed through the blockade to the starving people of Greece. This was revealed in a Parliamentary answer given by Mr. Dingle Foot, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Economic Warfare in the Commons on June 16.

Mr. Foot reaffirmed that none of the promised 15,000 ton regular monthly shipments have yet been made. The whole intake of Allied relief is, therefore, suspended until agreement is reached with the Axis Powers about shipments to the Aegean Islands, the subject of the present hitch.

At the moment, therefore, only the limited Turkish relief is reaching Greece, and stories of the extreme privations of the Greeks are again appearing in the press. An article in the "Tablet" of June 6 by David Walker, who was a war correspondent on the Albanian front, is quoted in Hellas, the London Greek weekly.

"The only source of supply of food is by means of the food ships," declares Mr. Walker. "In the opinion of those competent to speak, the present rate of delivery will not prevent the destruction of the Greek people from starvation and disease in the coming autumn and winter. They

will literally cease to exist." After describing his experiences of Greek heroism, the writer concludes "an occasional shipload of wheat is insufficient recompense."

As it is understood that the Greek Red Cross is now willing to receive donations for the purchase of supplementary relief through neutral countries, the Food Relief Campaign of the Peace Pledge Union has sent them a cheque for £100.

The N-W Peace Group is organizing a small summer school experiment at Rydal Lodge, Grasmere, from Aug. 15-22. Partly inspired by the Danish People's High School, the chief concern will be literature, with some lectures by M. L. V. Hughes, on Bridges and Masefield, and a Matthews-Sinfield English course, under the leadership of Nora Ensor. Housework will be shared and the cost will be £2 2s. for the week, though some reductions may be possible. The diet will be chiefly vegetarian.

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BACHELOR will share pleasant house with large garden (60 north of London). Furnished or unfurnished accommodation. Box 326 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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BOARD RESIDENCE wanted for fortnight, Aug. 1-Sep. 12, for pacifist couple with boy (3½). Country or seaside within reasonable travelling distance of London. R.F.R. 9 Temple Fortune Court, N.W.11.

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McGrath and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 4 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

HAMPSTEAD Garden Suburb. Comfortable accommodation, for one person. Near buses to Golders Green. Speedwell 6013. Box 310 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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MISCELLANEOUS

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THE WEST HAM DEMOLITION SCHEME requires volunteers for demolition work and voluntary rescue work. Training for post-war reconstruction work abroad, practical and theoretical, is being undertaken. C.O.s with Civil Defence decisions accepted. Write for further details to Secretary, I.V.S.P., 1 Lyddon Terrace, Leeds 2.